



United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105<sup>th</sup> CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 144

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1998

No. 139

## Senate

The Senate met at 9:29 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Gracious God, without whom we can do nothing of lasting value, but with whom there is no limit to what we can accomplish, we ask You to infuse us with fresh strength and determination as we press toward the goal of finishing the work of this 105th Congress. Help us to do all we can, in every way we can, and as best we can to finish well. Inspire us to follow the cadence of Your drumbeat.

Bless the Senators in these crucial hours. Replace any weariness with the second wind of Your Spirit. Rejuvenate those whose vision is blurred by stress and deliver those who may be discouraged or disappointed. In the quiet of this moment, we return to You, recommit our lives to You, and receive Your revitalizing energy. We accept the psalmist's reorienting admonition, "Wait on the Lord; be of good courage, and He shall strengthen your heart; wait, I say, on the Lord!"—Psalm 27:14. In the Name of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

### RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

### SCHEDULE

Mr. ALLARD. Mr. President, this morning there will be a period for morning business until 10 a.m. Following morning business, under a previous order, the Senate will proceed to two stacked rollcall votes. The first vote will be on adoption of the motion to

proceed to H.R. 10, the financial services reform bill, followed by a second vote on the motion to invoke cloture on S. 442, which is the Internet tax bill. Assuming cloture is invoked, the Senate will remain on the Internet tax bill with amendments being offered and debated throughout today's session.

In addition to the Internet tax bill, the Senate may consider the VA-HUD appropriations conference report under a 40-minute time agreement reached last night. The Senate may also consider other available conference reports or any legislative or executive items cleared for action.

The leader reminds all Members that there are only a few days left in which to consider remaining appropriations bills and other important legislation. Members are encouraged to plan their schedules accordingly to accommodate a very busy week, with votes beginning early each morning and extending late into the evenings.

I thank my colleagues for their attention, and I yield the floor.

Mr. HUTCHINSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DALE BUMPERS

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my retiring colleague from Arkansas, Senator DALE BUMPERS. Arkansas is a State with a small population, and it is a State where politicians of even opposing political parties and philosophies find their lives and careers intersecting and intertwining.

As a high school student, I followed DALE BUMPERS' meteoric rise from an unknown country lawyer from Charleston, AR, to the Governor of the State and a man who became known in Arkansas politics as the giant killer, de-

feating such luminaries of Arkansas politics as Win Rockefeller and J.W. Fulbright.

I worked for DALE's opponent in 1980, not because I was enamored by his opponent, but because I was upset with some of DALE's votes. That has always been the way with DALE BUMPERS; you either agreed with him passionately or you disagreed vehemently.

While DALE has always been as smooth as honey, he has never tried to varnish his views or dilute his positions to make them more palatable to the general public, whether it was the Panama Canal or the space station.

Mr. President, I mentioned that in Arkansas, political lives and careers intersect frequently. In 1986, my brother ASA, then a U.S. attorney and now serving in the U.S. House of Representatives, ran against Senator BUMPERS in his second reelection campaign.

I worked in ASA's campaign, and I encountered and experienced firsthand the high esteem in which the people of Arkansas hold DALE BUMPERS. After Senator BUMPERS won that race resoundingly, delivering a good old country thumping to the HUTCHINSONS, I returned to my service in the Arkansas legislature and ASA became the State GOP chairman. We continued to follow Senator BUMPERS' career from afar, occasionally bumping into him at events in the State.

In 1990, ASA ran for attorney general of Arkansas. It was a politically tough, mean, even nasty race. It was hard fought and a very close race. I remember one day as I was working in ASA's headquarters in Little Rock, DALE BUMPERS walked in off the street unannounced. He came by, he said, to wish us well and to say that he always respected us and thought well of us. I saw a side of DALE BUMPERS that those who know him well see all the time. He knows well that there is life beyond the political arena and that politicians are, first and foremost, human beings.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



Printed on recycled paper.

S11643

I saw this again in 1996 when I was running for the U.S. Senate. It was the closing days of a very close race. DALE and my predecessor, Senator David Pryor, were campaigning for my opponent in a fly-around of the State. I suppose DALE was returning the favor from a decade before when I was campaigning for his opponent.

In the closing days, my son Timothy was involved in a tragic and terrible automobile accident. Timothy was seriously injured, and I was in the hospital room, not sure whether he was going to make it or not. The phone rang, and it was DALE BUMPERS. He called to assure me of his thoughts and his prayers and to tell me that he and David were suspending campaigning until it was clear that my son was going to be OK.

DALE, we will miss you around this place. I won't miss your votes, but I will miss you. I will miss your stories, and I will miss your humor. I will miss your eloquence, and I will miss your passion. I am grateful that our Senate careers overlapped for these 2 years. Thanks for your advice and counsel, and best wishes on this next phase of your life.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. ROBERTS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. AL-LARD). The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. ROBERTS. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. ROBERTS pertaining to the introduction of S. 2563 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. ROBERTS. I thank the Presiding Officer and yield the floor.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. DOMENICI. Parliamentary inquiry.

Under the order, how much time does each Senator have in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Five minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. I ask I be given the 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Mexico.

#### KOSOVO AND MILITARY READINESS

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I have asked for this time today to address two serious and interrelated concerns: One, the President's plans to intervene in Kosovo; and, two, the already evident crisis in readiness of the U.S. military.

There are some who believe that these two concerns should be dealt with separately. Some may argue that linking the two is merely an excuse for U.S. inaction. I wish to be very clear. Developments in Kosovo may compel the United States and our allies to intervene. However, this intervention should not be paid for by further hollowing out of the Armed Forces.

I and many of my colleagues, will not support airstrikes in Kosovo, and especially a ground force presence, unless the President agrees to submit a budget that addresses the related readiness and operational tempo requirements of the U.S. military.

Also, we must be careful not to believe that there is an easy or inexpensive long-term solution to the problems in Kosovo. The administration would have us believe that NATO airstrikes will somehow solve the problem. I, and many colleagues, disagree.

The recent massacre of ethnic Albanians in two small villages in Kosovo has heightened awareness and condemnation of Serbian aggression. Powerful airstrikes and military action could send a strong and unambiguous message to the Serbian leader. As in Bosnia, empty threats of NATO action never does anything to get the job done.

There is good reason to be concerned about 400,000 Albanians forced from their homes as winter approaches. I am concerned. I am deeply concerned about that. But I am more concerned about involving U.S. lives in ill-conceived military campaigns. I am deeply concerned that we will be sending an already weary and overextended military into a situation for which there is no quick and easy solution.

Mr. President, as you know, the U.S. defense budget has declined for the past several years. At the same time, nontraditional deployments have stretched an already extended military force to its limits. This is largely the result of downsizing of our force structure while increasing the number and the frequency of deployments overseas for purposes other than a war.

We have been asking our Armed Forces to do more with less for several years. They are finally admitting that they cannot do more with what the President has given them. Yet, the administration is asking them to still do more.

Now I and many of my colleagues wish to ask the administration one question: Will you do more? Will you ensure that readiness does not suffer further? Will you stop the hollowing out of our military forces?

Some may think that this readiness issue isn't real. I am sure there are those who think that there is no crisis in readiness. Well, I believe that a few examples of the crisis in readiness are absolutely persuasive.

Here are just a few of the symptoms of this crisis:

One, Navy pilot retention has sunk to an all-time low of 10 percent. This is the lowest in recorded history of pilot retention programs.

Air Force pilot retention is at 30 percent, and it is projected to decline further. The Air Force is now 700 pilots short.

The aircraft deployed on primary, peacekeeping deployments—such as Bosnia—are being "cannibalized," meaning, they are being stripped for

spare parts to keep at least a few flying. It is not uncommon for this to happen at a low-priority unit in the United States; however, allowing this to happen in the front-line deployments like Bosnia where we might soon go into combat is inexcusable.

Aircraft carriers are being deployed with personnel slots empty. A recent report has one carrier on a peacekeeping mission with a crew that is lacking 1,000 persons to perform the essential tasks. In other words, the United States has aircraft carriers on missions that are lacking about 20 percent of what is considered a full crew. How ready are these carriers to perform their missions?

We have Army units arriving for critical combat training at the Army's national training center in California with mechanics and "mounted" infantry simply missing. These units have junior noncommissioned officers filling roles traditionally filled by senior experienced noncommissioned officers.

This is a problem that permeates every branch of the Armed Forces. We simply are not retaining the seasoned, well-trained military personnel and professionals. I and Senator STEVENS are commissioning an important study by GAO to find out exactly why our military persons are leaving the service in unprecedented numbers.

The troops that I personally visited in the Persian Gulf made it clear that morale is low there. They are tired of constantly being separated from their families. I believe this separation would be tolerable if the operational tempo required of them were humane.

I believe the separation would also be eased, if they were assured that their families had adequate housing and food on the table.

I believe the separation would be tolerable and their loyalty to the military secure, if it weren't for the fact that they also question the purpose of the missions.

Mr. President, I believe we are failing our soldiers on all counts.

That brings us to the question of money. There is simply not enough money in the defense budget as it is currently projected to do everything that needs to be done. There is an effort underway to provide emergency supplemental funding for military readiness. I support that effort. However, this will not solve the bigger problems.

The U.S. defense budget has been in a constant decline since 1985. In the case of Bosnia, the administration has relied on Congress to repeatedly supply "emergency supplemental" moneys to provide for a "contingency" operation that started in December, 1995. We are currently supporting over 8,000 troops in Bosnia, and the President persists in asking us to join him in a charade that the U.S. presence in Bosnia is an "unforeseen emergency."

The budget shortfalls are eroding readiness, but, more importantly, they